THE NEW YORK PRESS.

EDITORIAL OPINIONS OF THE LEADING JOURNALS UPON CURRENT TOPICS.

CONTILED EVERY DAY FOR EVENING TELEGRAPH.

The Constitutional Amendment - Hou. James Brooks and Hon. Thaddens Stevens on the Same Platform.

From the Beraid. The Hon. James Brooks, through the columns offan obscure journal made up of second-hand materials-a sort of shoddy newspaper-has come out with a flippant little stump speech against the Constitutional amendment now before the States for their ratification. He does not like it. Neither does the Hon. Thaddens Stevens, nor General B. F. Butler, nor Wendell Phillips, nor any of the tribe of radical leaders. Nor is it the first time or the second in which Mr. Brooks and Mr. Stevens have been found Mr. Brooks and Mr. Stevens have been found pulling together. On the District of Columbia Negro Suffrage bill in the House of Representatives, early in the last session, when the conservative Republicans, with the help of the Democrats, could have deteated Stevens on the test question, Stevens carried his point with the aid of the Democratic vote, including the vote of Mr. Brooks. Again, towards the close of the ession, when his Constitutional amendment as first reported was before the House, the Demo-crats came to the rescue of Stevens, and enabled him to carry his point against the moderate Re-

The test question was upon the third section of the amendment as originally reported, dis-franchising till the 4th of July, 1867, every man guilty of voluntarily giving aid and comfort to the Rebellion. This was the ultimatum of Stevens. The most ferocious of all his violent speeches was his terrible closing speech against any surrender of this condition. It was to him the pith and substance of the amendment, and this plan of Congress, he protested, would be a surrender to the Rebels if shorn of this sweep-ing disfranchisement. A Republican member desired to make a motion to strike out this third section; but Stevens interposed the previous question, which, if adopted, cuts off all motions to amend, and brings the House at once to the

With the aid of the Democrats the conservative Republicans could have voted down the previous question; but a sufficient number of the Democrats preferred to support the motion of Stevens, and thus they carried his plan through the House. We cannot find the name of Mr. Brooks in these proceedings, but the votes of his tellow-Democrats who voted for the previous question and his dodging are enough to fix his position. This sweeping disfranchise-ment of the Stevens plan was stricken out in the Senate, where the amendment was put into its present shape; but the country owes nothing to Mr. Brooks for the modification. The amendment as it now stands is not his plan, nor is it the plan of Mr. Stevens. Both these men, we take it, dislike this amendment because it does not suit the factious purposes of either te bring this business to a speedy and decisive

Against the warnings of Stevens and the flippant objections of Brooks we urge upon the politicians and white people of the Southern States the adoption of this Constitutional amend ment. The public mind of the North is not in the mood for a repetition of the supercitious, imperious, and insolent demands of such South ern fire-eaters and revolutionists as defeated the great object of the Border State Peace Convention of 1861. We have had enough of the tolly of domineering Southern fire-eaters, and enough of the fanaticism of Northern radicals, and we want peace; and we can get it in the restora-tion of the Union on the basis of this peace ultimatum of the Republican conservatives of Congress. We feel entirely justified in admon-ishing the Scuthern States that delay is dangerous to them; that if they reject these condi-tions of Congress they will be far more likely to get something much worse instead of any-thing better; that a State Government, according to the Supreme Court, if recognized by Congress, is the State; that it not recognized by Congress, there is no appeal but to the next Congress, and that in such an appeal there is no living chance of anything better than this

amendment for the excluded States. It is the victorious party in a war that die tates the treaty of peace; and as the terms of restoration and peace offered to the South by Congress propose nothing of confiscation, no enforcement of negro suffrage, no vengeauce, no exclusion from Federal offices that cannot be remedied, no disfranchisements, but only those securities deemed necessary for the safety of the national treasury, the liberty of the blacks, and the future peace of the Union, we would appeal to the excluded Southern States into the general Government as tast as possible on these generous terms offered through Congress by the victorious North. We urge this course because it is abundantly mani-test that nothing less will satify the great dominant Union war party and Congressional peace party of the North.

The Napoleonic Manifesto. From the Tribune.

Paris telegrams of the 17th and 18th of September inform us that the French Government has issued the manifesto on the recent occurrences in Europe, which has for some time been expected. It is in the form of a circular, and has, according to general belief, been drawn up by Napoleon himself.

The abstract of the circular which is given by the cable telegram is too brief and obscure to convey fully the meaning and significance of this important document. Its main object, however, is clearly to assure Europe of the thoroughly pacific intentions of Louis Napoleon. It goes so far as to represent the recent changes in Europe as favorable to France. It again announces that the France-Italian Convention, concerning the evacuation of Rome, will be taithfully carried out. Finally, it again hints, as the despatch says, at "the annexation of people of the same language and interests to any of the powers of Europe."

The pacific spirit of the circular is in full accord with the policy professed by France during the last month. Whatever may have been the character of the presentations.

been the character of the negotiations between France and Prussia, concerning the cession of territory by the latter to the former-the matter is still far from being cleared up—from the time when the Prussian Government declared its determination not to cede an inch of German soil, all the public manifestations of the French Government have professed a desire to maintain peace, and an acquiescence in the successes obtained by Prussia and Italy. The resignation of Drouyn de Lhuys had, according to the common belief of the Paris press, the same meaning. Drouyn de Lhuys, who, during his whole political life has been anxious to be on good terms with the Catholic party, was believed to sympathize strongly with Austria and lieved to sympathize strongly with Austria and with the Pope, and to be on that account a very determined opponent of the aggrandizement of Prussia and of the evacuation of Rome. The circular assures us, with regard to these two important questions, that France will take no offense at the growth of Prussia, and no longer force the temporal dominion of the Pope upon

an unwilling people. If these assurances could be accepted with entire confidence, they would indeed remove some of the greatest dangers to the peace of Europe. No one can doubt that the Prussian Government and the German people will continue their efforts for completing the national unity of Germany, with or without the consent of France. If France at any future time should try to interfere in this movement, it must, without fail, bring on a fearful struggle. On the contrary, if France will allow the Germans to enjoy the same national unity which has long been enjoyed by England, France, Spain, Russian and other research. try to interfere in this movement, it must, withbeen enjoyed by England. France, Spain, Russia, and other nations, the Germans will soon and without difficulty achieve their object. The same is the case in Italy. The effort of France are the Government to the control of the Deme-

to save any kind of sovereignty for the Pope must lead to serious difficulties with Italy, while her non-interference in Italian affairs would settle the German question in less than a month, and give to Europe a new guarantee of

In conclusion, the circular hints at the wellknown opinions of Napoleon concerning the nationality question. If the doctrine which is expressed in the circular was sincerely carried out, if people of the same language and inte-rests which are now separated from the main trunk of their nation were allowed to rejoin their kindred, the nationality principle would become the redress of the greatest wrongs which have been suffered by European recopies, and the most efficient preparation for a lasting peace. But in the present position of European politics, the nationality doctrine is oftener used by ambitious princes as a pretext for acts of violence, than by uninterested statesmen as a means to promote barmony between nations, and to promote the interests of peace. In the mouth of Napoleon the reassertion of this prin-ciple may, therefore, mean either an appeal to the sympathies of the noblest patriots of the European countries, or a loophole for returning, when a suitable opportunity offers, from the professions of peace to the arbitrament of the

The failing health of Napoleon makes it pro-bable that he is more intent upon securing the continuance of his dynasty than upon risking uncertain wars. While at a more favorable juncture of circumstances he would hardly resist the temptation to risk a war for the rectification of the French frontier, there are many reasons to believe that his present professions of peace able designs are sincere.

Supporting for Office Men who Have Been Disloyal. From the Times.

General Grant is reported by a correspondent of the Chicago Republican to have made, in a conversation with him, the following remarks:-"He said that, without expressing any views of his own for or against the Johnson policy, he yet telt it to be a misfortune for Mr. Johnson that the advocates of his policy in States through which he had just passed, Missouri, Illinois, and Indiana, had in some instances put on their ticket men who in 1861 and 1862 had been guilty of known disloyalty to the Govern-ment; because (and this was said in a very emphatic manner) he felt that to ask men whose sons had shed their blood for the Union to vote for men who had been disloyal to it, was the greatest insult that could be offered.

Southern men he could make allowances for, and he could ride through the South, and get on a platform and shake hands in friendship with such men as Lee, Johnson, or Forrest, because. though they had been almost educated into secession, they were now truly honest and loyal in their adherence to the Union, and were ing to strengthen it. But he did not seel that way towards Northern men who had once been disloyal, and neither desired to associate with them nor have them for his friends. No such men could have his support, nor ought they to be supported by Mr. Johnson's friends throughout the Northern States. He particularly instanced, as a specimen of this objectionable class of men, Heister Clymer, the Democratic candidate for Governor of Pennsylvania, saying that to ask any soldier to vote for such a man of at one time known disloyalty, against another who had served four years in the Union army, with credit to himself and benefit to his country, was a gross insult. If men desired to support Mr. Johnson's policy let them, but, at all events, let them vote only for such men as were true to their country in 1861."

Nothing could be more just or sensible. Nothing has contributed more (and very many things have contributed much), towards alienating popular favor and support from the just and liberal policy of the President towards the South, than the action of those who claim to be his friends in this respect. It has proved, indeed, as General Grant styles it, "a misfortune for the President," and, we may add, for the country also. In Pennsylvania the Administration candidate for Governor is one who, in his political action, resisted the Government throughout the war, who made himself utterly obnoxious to the loyal men who were struggling to save the nation; and his election, by the defeat of a gallant soldier who fought with herom and honor for the overthrow of the lion, is held essential to the vindication of the President's policy. The same thing is true, perhaps in a less conspicuous degree, in nominations for members of Congress and for State officers of various grades throughout the

The reason of it is clear. It has been done because the Democratic party has pushed itself into the foreground of the President's supporters, and has seized the occasion to reconstruct and strengthen its own organization, rather than sustain the President upon the principles which he asserts, and in the mode which he himself pointed out. President Johnson never hesitated to declare his purpose to stand upon the princi-ples of the Union party, to act within its lines, to co-operate with those of its members who adhered to its platform, and to use the patronage at his disposal to nationalize and strengthen its organization. He never concealed his conviction that the Democratic party, as an organization, destroyed itself by its disloyal attitude during the war; that it had justly iorfeited the confidence of the people; and that the party which carried the nation through the war was

the party upon which he relied for co-operation and support in restoring the Union and securing the blessings of peace.

The great body of the Democratic party seemed conscious that it had been betrayed by its leaders into a false position, and they were quite ready to accept the result, and act in good faith with the Union party in the restoration of the Union, under the guidance of President Johnson. If, the Union party in Congress had been less under the control of extreme men; if national Union doctrines, as opposed to the violent sectionalism of ultraists and malignants, had found a stronger utterance and nants, had found a stronger utterance and greater favor with Congress and the country; and if the President and the Union party had been somewhat less distrustful and more frank in their relations to each other, there would have been no difficulty in thus rallying to the Union platform and the Union party are over-Union platform and the Union party an over-whelming majority of the people, North and South, throughout the Union.

But that opportunity was thrown away, and both the President and Congress accepted an attitude of mutual distrust and hostility with a reactness which, in suspicious minds, begat the

belief that both had sought it. Naturally enough, under the circumstances, the leaders of the Democratic party took ad-vantage of this state of things and made a bold push to regain their power. Sheltering themselves from the odlum incurred during the war under the President's policy of restoration, they put their own men in nomination for office, set in motion their old machinery, and demanded the support of conservative Union men for the reinstatement of the Democratic

party in power.

And when Union men, who never voted a Democratic ticket in their lives, who always held and advocated the principles of the Republican party, and who resisted with all their might the attempts of the Democratic party to thwart the Government in its efforts to quell the Rebellion, tail to respond to these demands, they are very coolly accused of treachery to the Democratic party and to the President, for whom not a single member of that party gave a vote. In all the States where Governors are to be chosen they have put prominent Democratic politicians—men identified thoroughly with the party organization throughout the war—in nomination as candidates; and in nearly all the Congressional districts, instead of accepting conservative Union men, they have nominated candidates of their own—often from the Copper-

head wing of the party, and always from men identified with its action in the public mind. We have no hesitation whatever in saying that

cratic party, under its old organization and its old leaders. Both rendered themselves thoroughly and justly obnoxious to the loyal Confederation which it supplianted, is, that the Confederation acted on Males, and the Constitupatriotic sentiment of the nation, by their hos patriotic sentiment of the nation, by their hostility to the policy of the Government during the war. The people will not, now that the war is over, confide the control of public affairs to their hands, and every effort they make to secure this result will end in defeat, and postpone the very object they seek to accomplish.

General Grant was perfectly right in saying that men in the North who have been disloyal "ought not to be supported by President Johnson's friends;" and the same is true of political organizations that held an attitude of disloyalty during the war. during the war.

The Double Congress. From the Tribune.

The country must not lose sight of the threats of the President and his followers to plunge us afresh into a new and terrible civil war by constituting and recognizing a bogus House of Representatives, made up of a Johnson minority of the members legally entitled to seats, combined with those chosen from the States which withdrew their members from Congress, and desperately strove to destroy the Union. Having been utterly discomfited in the bloody struggle thus inaugurated, they now propose to propose to return to Congress in defiance of a subsisting law, and to constitute a House made up of eighty or ninety Johnsonites from loyal States, and forty or lifty chosen by the States not yet readmitted to representation. As the Republicans, it is fairly presumed, will not submit to this, it is eagerly calculated that the flames of civil war will thus be relighted, and that the North will be visited with calamities like to those she recently inflicted on the South.

This scheme cannot work unless a quorum of Copperhead Representatives, including those from the ex-Rebel States, can be secured at the pending elections. The fifty Johnsonites (or thereabout) in the present House (including the Tennesseeans) must be swelled to seventy, or they will not suffice, with the fifty-two from the ten States not yet restored to power in Congress to make a quorum. Unless these twenty shall be gained in the ensuing elections in the loyal States, the plot must fail.

Will the people give the Johnsonites the twenty gains they must have to enable them to disorganize Congress and inaugurate a fresh civil war? Where are those twenty gains to be made? Concede that the Rebel vote cast in defiance of law in Maryland and Missouri is good for five of them, where will they gain the litteen still wanting? Shall New York or Pennsylvania, Indiana or Ohio, contribute most to make up the requisite number?

We call upon the people everywhere to ques-tion the rival candidates for Congress sharply and closely on this head. Let us know precisely which candidates, if elected, will take part in organizing a House made up in part of men by law disqualified to sit. After what the Presi-dent has said of "Northern traitors" and in disparagement of Congress as invalid and usurping, the people should insist on knowing exactly what each candidate will do if elected and called to choose between two Houses-one of to 120 members chosen who ly from loyal States, and the other of seventy members from those States and fifty-two from the ten which, having been deeply involved in the Rebellion, have not yet been readmitted to Congress. Let each be constrained, if unwilling, to show his hand! The issue is so momentous that nothing must be left to guess-work and uncertainty. men will not seek concealment, and others must not be permitted to find it.

Address of the Republican National

From the World. The Republican National Committee have issued an address, designed, we suppose, as a counterblast to the address of the Philadelphia Committee, written by their deposed Chairman, Mr. Raymond. This manifesto, by its style, is from the pen of Mr. Greeley, who replaces Mr. Raymond in the National Committee as its New York member. Marcus L. Ward signs it as Chairman, John D. Defrees as Secretary, and the signatures of twenty-two other members-making twenty-four in all-close all dispute about a quorum. Mr. Ward's name as Chairman, and Mr. Greeley's as the member from New York, show that the Committee regard Mr. Raymond as having been pitched out, neck and heels. That gentleman's devoted and doting regard for the organization which has thus washed its hands of him, and of all his belongings, is amiabiy set forth in an editorial in Times, soitly wooing the Republican party to stand with him upon the old platform, and predicting the glories and triumphs of so sweet a reunion. It may indeed be, for aught we know, that the party cherishes the beautiful sentiments ascribed to it by the Times, but the editor must be very devoted and confiding to think so.

"Perhaps she did right in dissembling her love, But why did she kick me down stairs?" With the exception of a single short passage, which we will quote presently, the address has in it nothing noteworthy. It is written in good temper, with sufficient dignity, and consists of a compact statement of the staple arguments of the radicals against the policy of the President. The noteworthy passage to which we alluded is the following:"What, then, is the ground of complaint

against Congress?
"Is it charged that the action of the two Houses was tardy and hesitating? Consider how momentous were the questions involved, the issues depending. Consider how novel and extraordinary was the situation. Consider how utterly silent and blank is the Federal Constituion touching the treatment of insurgent States, whether during their flagrant hostility to the Union or after their discomfiture. Consider with how many embarrassments and difficulties the problem is beset, and you will not wonder that months were required to devise, perfect, and pass, by a two-thirds vote in either House, a just and safe plan of reconstruction."

The statement which we have made is remark-The statement which we have made is remarkable, not on the score of its truth—for its truth cannot be successfully controverted—but remarkable on account of the source from which it, at this late day, emanates. It is precisely the doctrine, on that subject, of President Buchanan's last annual message; precisely the point of that part of the message against which the whole Boundign press of that day raised the whole Republican press of that day raised such a resounding chorus of obloquy. The Constitution being "atterly silent and blank" in regard to the treatment of insurgent States (N. B., it is not by any means silent and blank n regard to the treatment of insurrection), bu as, by the formal, the official contession of the Republican party, the Constitution grants no power to deal with insurgent States, it follows that the assumption by Congress to deal with

them is a sheer usurpation.

The Constitution conters upon Congress certain powers which are carefully enumerated that of dealing with insurgent States being conlessedly not among them, and it then subjoins the following supplementary clause, which is the sole grant of implied powers:—"To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or any department or officer thereof," Now as the Constitution is "outerly silent and blank" as to the mode of dealing with insurgent States, it clearly follows that Congress has no authority to act on that subject at all. The nail thus driven is clinched by the following, which is the tenth amendment:—"The powers not delegated to the United States by this Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

Powers about which the Constitution is "utterly silent and blank" are surely not delegated; and such powers cannot be exercised by Congress without plain and bald usurpation. The power to reconstruct State Governments after they have been broken down by insurrection is reserved, then, to the people of those States; and the moment such Governments, being republican in form, are re-established, the Constitution itself defines their rights.

The characteristic difference between the Governments of the characteristic difference between the Governments.

The characteristic difference between the Gov-

ernment established by the Constitution and the Confederation which it supplicated, is, that the Confederation acted on states, and the Constitution directly on individual citizens. In an insurrection against the Federal Government, the Constitution sees only the mass of individuals that take part in it. It confers an explicit and unequivocal authority to use the military force for the suppression of insurrections, and to pass laws declaring the punishment of treason; thus furnishing the means of itealing with insurrections. furnishing the means of dealing with insurrections during their progress, and of inflicting condign punishment on the guilty after their close. But it can inflict no penalties or loss of privileges on States, because it has no authority to do so, the Constitution, which is "unterly allent and blank" on that subject conferring to do so, the Constitution, which is "utterly silent and blank" on that subject, conferring

It gives us sincere pleasure to find something to commend in the Republican Address.

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